

Message Text

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TO USLO PEKING

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

UNCLAS STATE 201045

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR OREP (SCOTT, HUGH), CH US

SUBJECT: EXCERPTS FROM SCOTT REPORT ON PRC VISIT

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD AUGUST 10 CARRIED THE TEXT OF THE REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE BY SENATOR HUGH SCOTT CONCERNING HIS TRIP TO THE PRC JULY 10-24. FOLLOWING IS THE INITIAL PORTION OF THE REPORT DEALING WITH POLICY MATTERS (FULL TEXT OF REPORT IS BEING POUCHED TO ADDRESSEES: Q'S AND A'S ON THE REPORT AT DEPT'S NOON BRIEFING AUG. 12 WILL BE CARRIED ON THE WIRELESS FILE.) BEGIN TEXT:

MY HOSTS IN PEKING HAD BEEN MADE AWARE, THROUGH THE LIAISON OFFICE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN WASHINGTON, OF PRESIDENT FORD'S JUNE 9, 1976 LETTER TO ME. WHEN I WAS RECEIVED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND BY THE SENIOR VICE UNCLASSIFIED

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PREMIER OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA THEY TALKED WITH ME, CONSEQUENTLY, AS A MEMBER OF THE SENATE WHO HAD BEEN REQUESTED BY THE PRESIDENT TO BRING TO HIM MY ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT STATUS OF SINO-AMERICAN

RELATIONSHIPS.

THE NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY REPORTED ON JULY 12 THAT MY CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CH'IAO KUAN-HUA HAD BEEN "FRIENDLY AND FRANK." ON JULY 13, IT REPORTED THAT I HAD, WITH VICE PREMIER CHANG CH'UN-CH'IAO, "A FRANK TALK IN A FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE." NEITHER NCNA STORY MENTIONED THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR CONVERSATIONS. I AGREE THAT OUR CONVERSATIONS WERE FRANK, PERHAPS EVEN STARTLINGLY SO. I ALSO AGREE THAT THEY DEVELOPED IN A FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE.

PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON I OBTAINED GOOD ADVICE AS TO THOSE ISSUES LIKELY TO BE UPPERMOST ON THE MINDS OF OUR CHINESE HOSTS, THOSE MATTERS UPON WHICH IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE TO ELICIT THEIR VIEWS, AND THOSE MATTERS ABOUT WHICH IT MIGHT BE BEST TO AVOID DETAILED CONVERSATION. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT I WAS BEING TOLD THAT PEKING WAS LIKELY TO BE GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WAS BEING IMPLEMENTED, AND THAT PEKING'S REAL CONCERNS RELATED TO THE CONDUCT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE GLOBAL ARENA. IT IS MY BELIEF, ALTHOUGH I HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING, THAT MY CHINESE HOSTS MAY NOT HAVE TALKED TO ME, HAD I BEEN A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, THE WAY THEY TALKED WITH ME AS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE. STILL, IT WAS, I THINK, SIGNIFICANT THAT THEY TALKED ABOUT TAIWAN AT LENGTH UPON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE. THEIR OBSERVATION THAT TAIWAN WAS THE OBSTACLE TO PROGRESSION BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS CAME, OF COURSE, AS NO SURPRISE. THEIR VIEW THAT THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TAIWAN WAS STILL A WAR, AND UNCONDITIONALLY A DOMESTIC AFFAIR INTERNAL TO ONE CHINA, WAS STATED WITH A VEHEMENCE WHICH SUGGESTED THAT THEY WERE SURPRISED AND RESENTFUL THAT ANY AMERICAN WOULD NOT KNOW UNCLASSIFIED

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THAT THIS WAS THEIR VIEW.

FROM WHAT THE CHINESE SAID TO ME ABOUT TAIWAN, I DREW SEVERAL INFERENCES.

LAST DECEMBER, PEKING WAS PREPARED TO UNDERSTAND AND TO ACQUIESCE IN SOME DELAY IN THE UNITED STATES ACTIONS NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. CHINA, HOWEVER, IS NOT WILLING TO ACQUIESCE IN SUCH POSTPONEMENT FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME AND THEY USED SUCH TERMS AS "UNREALISTIC AND UNACCEPTABLE." WHEREAS PEKING HAS BEEN, FOR SOME TIME, TALKING WITH US ABOUT A VARIETY OF MUTUAL CONCERNS

IN THE GLOBAL ARENA, WITH LESSENER EMPHASIS ON CHINA'S CONCERN OVER THE UNRESOLVED TAIWAN ISSUE, CHINA HAD DONE THIS BECAUSE IT BELIEVED THAT ITS UNCHANGING INTEREST IN RESOLUTION OF THIS PART OF CHINA'S UNFINISHED CIVIL WAR HAD BEEN TAKEN FOR GRANTED BY US.

MY SECOND INFERENCE ARISES FROM THE STATE OF MIND CAUSED BY THE DEATH OF PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI, THE NOW PUBLICLY ADMITTED FRAILTY OF CHAIRMAN MAO, AND WHAT WAS, TO ME, AN OBVIOUS GENERAL UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE COMPOSITION AND LIKELY INTENTIONS OF CHINA'S FUTURE LEADERSHIP. AT SUCH A TIME THERE WAS CLEARLY ADVANTAGE IN MOVING TOWARDS THE CONCLUSION OF IMPORTANT UNFINISHED BUSINESS WHICH CHINA HAD UNDERTAKEN WITH THE FULL AUTHORITY OF BOTH CHAIRMAN MAO AND PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

EVER SINCE SENATOR MANSFIELD AND I MADE OUR TRIP TO CHINA IN 1972 I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO ASSESS CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC RESPONSE TO REPORTS ARISING FROM SUBSEQUENT CONGRESSIONAL VISITS TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND TO PUBLIC ADDRESSES WHICH HAVE TOUCHED UPON NORMALIZATION OF UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, SUCH AS PRESIDENT FORD DELIVERED IN HAWAII FOLLOWING HIS VISIT TO PEKING LAST DECEMBER. GOVERNOR CARTER'S STATEMENTS ON CHINA POLICY ONLY REINFORCE MY VIEW THAT THERE IS VERY WIDE SUPPORT FOR MOVEMENT TOWARDS NORMALIZATION
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OF THE UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, EVEN IF DOING SO INVOLVES SEVERING DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH OUR FRIENDS ON TAIWAN. I HOLD THE VIEW THAT EARLY IN 1977 WE SHOULD PRESS THE PROCESS OF CUTTING THIS GORDIAN KNOT, THROUGH MUTUAL SEARCH FOR ACCEPTABLE FORMULAE.

I MYSELF SHARE WITH MANY AMERICANS THE FEELING THAT WE SHOULD NOT SEVER DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIPEI UNLESS AND UNTIL WE HAVE MADE A CONVINCING CASE THAT THE RISKS OF DAMAGE TO THE LONGER TERM INTERESTS, SAFETY AND PROSPERITY OF TAIWAN THROUGH TAKING THAT STEP ARE NOT GREAT. THIS CASE OUGHT TO BE MADE AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE,

MOREOVER, KNOWING THAT CHINESE LEADERSHIP, ON ITS SIDE, IS MOST UNLIKELY TO MAKE EXPLICIT COMMITMENTS TO THE UNITED STATES INCONSISTENT WITH ITS VIEW THAT THE METHOD FOR THE ULTIMATE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN IS, UNCONDITIONALLY, A MATTER INTERNAL TO ONE CHINA.

IT HAS BEEN MY VIEW FOR SOME TIME, AS A FRIEND OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE, THAT TAIWAN'S SAFETY IS A FUNCTION OF

IMPORTANT REALITIES OVER AND ABOVE THE EXISTENCE OF THE 1954 MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY. I BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND TAIWAN MUST UNDERSTAND WHY THIS IS THE CASE. TAIPEI NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC'S REVULSION WITH THE VIETNAM INTERVENTION, AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC'S SUPPORT OF THE WAR POWERS RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS, MEAN THAT SUSTAINED AMERICAN PERFORMANCE ON COMMITMENTS UNDER THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY OF 1954 CANNOT BE TAKEN AUTOMATICALLY FOR GRANTED. THE TREATY WAS ENTERED INTO AT A TIME WHEN WASHINGTON BELIEVED THAT ITS ADVERSARY WAS A SINO-SOVIET MONOLITH WHOSE SEIZURE OF ANY FREE WORLD TERRITORY CARRIED GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS. UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, CONSIDERING THE RISKS AS WELL AS LIKELY AMERICAN REACTIONS, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MAY COME TO QUESTION VITAL INTEREST IN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE UNFINISHED CHINESE CIVIL WAR.

IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT PEKING WILL ATTEMPT TO RECOVER TAIWAN BY MILITARY MEANS IF DOING SO WERE TO REQUIRE
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SIGNIFICANT WEAKENING OF PEKING'S MILITARY CAPABILITIES ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, WHERE PRESENT ANXIETIES ARE NOT SOON GOING TO BE EASED. PEKING KNOWS THAT, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, A MILITARY ENGAGEMENT IN THE TAIWAN STRAIT WOULD BE COSTLY, CONSIDERING THE IMPRESSIVE COMBAT CAPABILITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AS WELL AS WEIGHING THE RISKS OF ADVERSE WORLD REACTION.

PEKING KNOWS THAT FOR IT TO STRIKE A MILITARY BLOW AGAINST TAIWAN WOULD PROVOKE AN EXTREME REACTION IN JAPAN, POSSIBLY GREAT ENOUGH TO CAUSE JAPAN TO MOVE TOWARDS REVOKING ARTICLE 9 OF ITS CONSTITUTION, AND TO HEAD TOWARDS ACQUISITION OF A MAJOR POWER MILITARY CAPABILITY WHICH SO RECENTLY AS FOUR YEARS AGO WAS DEEPLY DISTURBING TO PEKING.

PEKING SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT FOR IT TO RESORT TO MILITARY FORCE IN SETTLING THE TAIWAN QUESTION WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY CRIPPLE, PERHAPS GRAVELY, A PROSPECT OF HELPFUL COOPERATION BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND PEKING IN THE GLOBAL ARENA.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS MY BELIEF THAT WE HAVE OVERLOOKED, DURING OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH PEKING ABOUT TAIWAN OVER THE PAST TWENTY YEARS, THE POSSIBILITY THAT TAIWAN, ITSELF, MIGHT ALTER ITS ROLE IN OUR CONFRONTATION WITH PEKING. TAIWAN SHOULD BE PERSUADED THAT ITS SAFETY MAY DEPEND FAR

MORE SIGNIFICANTLY UPON FACTORS OTHER THAN UPON WHETHER OR NOT IT IS LINKED TO THE UNITED STATES BY TREATY OBLIGATIONS. TAIPEI HAS DENIED TOTALLY THE LEGITIMACY OF

PEKING'S AUTHORITY BECAUSE THE LEGITIMACY OF GOVERNMENT ON TAIWAN, ITSELF, REQUIRED EXPECTATION OF A RETURN TO THE MAINLAND, AND BECAUSE TAIPEI BELIEVED THAT IT COULD TAKE FOR GRANTED AN AMERICAN DEFENSE UMBRELLA. WHILE ALMOST ALL OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD HAVE BEEN MOVING TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, TAIPEI HAS BEEN UNWILLING TO NEGOTIATE ON ANY SUBJECT WITH PEKING.

WHILE I WAS IN CHINA, THIS TIME, I WAS INTERESTED TO HEAR
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THAT THE CHINESE WERE READY, AT ANY TIME, TO TALK WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF TAIPEI, AND TO TRADE WITH TAIWAN.

I CAME AWAY FROM MY CONVERSATIONS WITH CHINESE LEADERS CONVINCED THAT WE SHOULD STRIVE TO MAKE PEKING PERCEIVE THE NEED FOR IT TO COOPERATE WITH US IN DEALING WITH BOTH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH COMPLICATE, FOR US, MOVEMENT TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. I AM ALSO CONVINCED OF THE WISDOM OF OUR STATEMENT IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WHICH REAFFIRMS OUR INTEREST "IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION BY THE CHINESE THEMSELVES." THE TIME HAS NOW COME, HOWEVER, FOR US ALSO TO ASK FROM TAIPEI, IN ADDITION TO WHAT WE MAY BE ASKING FROM PEKING, A POSITIVE ROLE IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION WHICH OFFERS PROMISE OF AVOIDING THE USE OF FORCE ON EITHER SIDE. TAIPEI SHOULD PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE SO AS TO ASSURE CONTINUING READINESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BE INVOLVED IN THAT REMARKABLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORT SO GREATLY ADMIRABLE BY ITS FRIENDS, WHETHER THAT RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A "JAPAN FORMULA" OR OTHERWISE.

EVENTS ARE TAKING PLACE WITHIN CHINA, WITHIN THE UNITED STATES, WITHIN EAST ASIA--NOTABLY THE TERMINATION OF THE VIET-NAM INTERVENTION--AND ELSEWHERE WHICH CAUSE ME TO BELIEVE THAT NORMALIZATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS A MATTER OF SOME URGENCY, AND HOPEFULLY SHOULD BE ACHIEVED DURING 1977, IF THE EXPECTATIONS FOR PEACE AND AMITY, IMPLICIT IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, ARE TO BE REALIZED.
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